

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 185647

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY CARACAS

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 185647

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, XA, VE

SUBJECT: LETTER ON AFRICA FROM THE SECRETARY TO
PRESIDENT PEREZ

FOR CHARGE ASECIO

1. PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY
TO PRESIDENT PEREZ:

BEGIN TEXT DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: DURING OUR MEETING IN
SANTIAGO, FOREIGN MINISTER ESCOVAR AND I HAD A
STIMULATING EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON AFRICA AND THE POTENTIAL
SIGNIFICANCE OF EVENTS THERE FOR THIS HEMISPHERE. I
THEREFORE THOUGHT IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO GIVE YOU DIRECTLY
A FEW OBSERVATIONS FROM MY TRIP TO AFRICA EARLIER THIS YEAR.

I VISITED AFRICA PRECISELY BECAUSE ITS IMPORTANCE AND ITS
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 185647

ASPIRATIONS DEMAND MORE ATTENTION FROM THE UNITED STATES.
THERE I FOUND IMPRESSIVE AFRICAN LEADERS IN VIGOROUS
PURSUIT OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR COUNTRIES, POSSESSING
BOTH THE REALISM AND THE IDEALISM REQUIRED FOR SUCCESSFUL

NATION BUILDING.

AS WE WOULD EXPECT THERE ARE DIFFERENCES OF VIEW AND

EMPHASIS AMONG THESE CHIEFS OF STATE. BUT ALL AGREED ON THE QUESTIONS OF PRIMARY INTEREST -- SOUTHERN AFRICA, NATIONAL SECURITY, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, RELATIONS BETWEEN THE DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING NATIONS AND EXTERNAL INFLUENCE IN AFRICA. ALL AGREED ON CERTAIN FUNDAMENTAL POINTS; THE NEED FOR A QUICK AND SATISFACTORY CONCLUSION TO THE PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA, PARTICULARLY IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA; OPPOSITION TO FOREIGN INTERVENTION IN THE CONTINENT OF AFRICA; A DEDICATION TO AFRICAN UNITY AND THE SOLUTION OF AFRICAN PROBLEMS BY AFRICANS; A COMMITMENT TO THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR OWN COUNTRIES; AND A GREATER PARTICIPATION IN THE DECISIONS WHICH AFFECT NATIONAL ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL SYSTEMS IN AN INTERDEPENDENT WORLD.

AS A RESULT OF MY TRIP TO AFRICA, WE HAVE UNDERTAKEN CERTAIN INITIATIVES DESIGNED TO INCREASE OUR TIES TO THAT CONTINENT AND TO BRING IT TO A MUCH GREATER DEGREE INTO OUR EFFORTS IN THE DEVELOPED/DEVELOPING WORLD DIALOGUE. I FIRMLY BELIEVE, AS A RESULT OF MY TRIP, THAT A PROSPEROUS AND PEACEFUL WORLD CAN BE ACHIEVED ONLY THROUGH THE GREATER PARTICIPATION AND COOPERATION OF THE AFRICAN NATIONS.

OUR AFRICAN POLICIES ARE CLEAR. WE ARE FIRMLY COMMITTED TO A RAPID, JUST, AND AFRICAN SOLUTION TO THE URGENT ISSUES OF THE CONTINENT -- MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA, A DEFINITE AND EARLY TIMETABLE FOR THE SELF-DETERMINATION OF NAMIBIA, AND AN END TO INSTITUTIONALIZED INEQUALITY IN SOUTH AFRICA. IN CONFORMITY WITH AFRICAN VIEWS, I AM MAKING EFFORTS TO BRING SOUTH AFRICA INTO THE PROCESS OF RESOLVING THE RHODESIAN AND NAMIBIAN ISSUES. THIS WAS THE PURPOSE OF MY MEETING LAST MONTH WITH SOUTH AFRICAN
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 185647

PRIME MINISTER JOHN VORSTER. WE DISCUSSED THE WHOLE RANGE OF SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES AND POSSIBILITIES. THEREAFTER, I SENT THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS TO CONSULT FURTHER WITH SEVERAL AFRICAN CHIEFS OF STATE. I BELIEVE THERE IS A POSSIBILITY FOR PROGRESS AND WE WILL CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS.

THE UNITED STATES IS CONVINCED THAT BY PARTICIPATING IN THIS PROCESS, WE CAN HELP ACHIEVE NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENTS AND AVOID A RACE WAR. IN THIS MANNER, WE HOPE TO LAY THE GROUNDWORK FOR FUTURE COOPERATION AMONG THE PEOPLES INVOLVED.

FURTHER, FOREIGN INTERVENTION, INCLUDING THAT OF THE CUBANS, CAN BE AVOIDED.

AFRICAN LEADERS EXPRESSED TO ME THEIR CONCERN ABOUT THE LONG-TERM IMPACT ON AFRICA OF THE PRESENCE OF MAJOR FOREIGN MILITARY FORCES THERE. THEY WERE CLEARLY WORRIED ABOUT WHAT THE PURPOSE OF THE 15,000 CUBAN TROOPS IN

ANGOLA MIGHT BE, NOW THAT ALL OTHER FOREIGN FORCES THERE HAVE LONG SINCE BEEN WITHDRAWN.

AS YOU KNOW, CUBAN LEADERS ARE NOW CLAIMING PUBLICLY THAT TROOPS ARE BEING WITHDRAWN FROM ANGOLA, BUT THEY HAVE BEEN VAGUE ABOUT HOW MANY TROOPS ARE PRESENTLY IN ANGOLA OR OTHER PARTS OF AFRICA AND HOW MANY WILL REMAIN AFTER THE END OF THIS YEAR. SHOULD EVEN HALF THE TROOPS BE WITHDRAWN, 7,000 TO 10,000 COULD STILL REMAIN NEXT DECEMBER 31. WE DO NOT AS YET HAVE INDICATION THAT A NET CUBAN WITHDRAWAL FROM ANGOLA IS TAKING PLACE.

MR. CASTRO INFORMED SWEDISH PRIME MINISTER PALME THAT THE GOAL OF CUBAN TROOPS IN ANGOLA TODAY IS TO CONSOLIDATE THE MPLA AND GUARANTEE THE COUNTRY'S INDEPENDENCE. CUBA IS GIVING ANGOLA TECHNICAL SUPPORT, MILITARY EDUCATION, AND LEGAL ADVICE FOR SETTING UP MILITARY TRIBUNALS TO JUDGE SO-CALLED QUOTE ENEMIES OF THE REVOLUTION UNQUOTE. IN REALITY IT IS CARRYING THE BRUNT OF FIGHTING THREE SEPARATE COUNTER-GUERRILLA WARS IN CABINDA, NORTHERN AND CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 185647

SOUTHERN ANGOLA.

THE USE OF AN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE TO CONSOLIDATE A MINORITY REGIME IN AFRICA AND SHOW IT HOW TO DEAL WITH QUOTE ENEMIES OF THE REVOLUTION UNQUOTE STANDS IN CONTRAST TO A LEADER WHO FREQUENTLY PROCLAIMS THAT IT IS NOT CUBAN POLICY TO EXPORT REVOLUTION. HOW ACCEPTABLE IS IT TO ANGOLA'S NEIGHBORS THAT CUBAN FORCES REMAIN IN THAT COUNTRY INDEFINITELY, PROVIDING INTERNAL SECURITY AND MOULDING THE FUTURE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF THAT COUNTRY?

ANOTHER ASPECT OF THE ANGOLAN INTERVENTION IS THAT IT HAS MADE CUBA MORE POLITICALLY AND ECONOMICALLY DEPENDENT THAN EVER ON THE SOVIET UNION, AN INEVITABLE CONSEQUENCE OF THE CUBAN MISCALCULATION IN DECIDING TO INTERVENE MASSIVELY IN ANGOLA, TOGETHER WITH THE SOVIETS.

IT IS DIFFICULT TO FORESEE THE DENOUEMENT OF THE CUBAN INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA. WE OF COURSE HOPE THAT CASTRO MEANS WHAT HE SAYS ABOUT WITHDRAWING HIS FORCES AND NOT FURTHER INTERVENING IN OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES. WE HOPE HIS WORDS WERE NOT DESIGNED FOR DIPLOMATIC EFFECT ON THE

OAS GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN SANTIAGO AND THE FORTHCOMING NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT MEETING IN SRI LANKA.

TO ACHIEVE SUCCESS IN BRINGING ABOUT SATISFACTORY SOLUTIONS TO THE ISSUES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA WE MUST ALSO PAY ATTENTION TO THE SERIOUS CONDITIONS ON THE CONTINENT WHICH NEED

AMELIORATION. AMONG THE MOST ACUTE ARE THE DANGER OF RECURRENT DROUGHT IN THE SAHEL IN WEST AFRICA, AND THE STAGGERING ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF ZAIRE AND ZAMBIA.

IN COPING WITH THESE AFRICAN PROBLEMS, THE GOALS OF THE LEADERS OF THAT CONTINENT ARE NOT DISSIMILAR FROM THOSE IN LATIN AMERICA.

PRESIDENT TOLBERT OF LIBERIA, WHO IS

VISITING THE UNITED STATES THIS YEAR, IS A PARTICULARLY STRONG REPRESENTATIVE OF INDEPENDENT AFRICA AND DEEPLY INTERESTED IN MODERNIZING HIS COUNTRY. PRESIDENT LEOPOLD
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 185647

SENGHOR OF SENEGAL, WHO I UNDERSTAND VISITS YOUR COUNTRY NEXT YEAR, IS AN INTERNATIONALLY KNOWN STATESMAN AND POSSESSES A PROFOUND UNDERSTANDING OF EVENTS BOTH INSIDE AND OUTSIDE AFRICA. PRESIDENT JOMO KENYATTA OF KENYA IS AN ELOQUENT LEADER WITH A VERY CLEAR IDEA OF KENYA'S INTERNATIONAL POSITION.

PRESIDENT MOBUTU OF ZAIRE BRINGS AN IMPRESSIVE DEDICATION AND SERIOUSNESS TOWARD SOLVING HIS COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS BROUGHT ON BY THE SHARP DECLINE IN COPPER PRICES. OUR CONVERSATIONS WERE MARKED BY THE FRANKNESS AND MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING ONE EXPECTS BETWEEN OLD FRIENDS. PRESIDENT JULIUS NYERERE OF TANZANIA, ONE OF AFRICA'S MOST THOUGHTFUL LEADERS, PLAYS A KEY ROLE IN THE CONSIDERATION OF THE PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. PRESIDENT KAUNDA OF ZAMBIA, ANOTHER OF AFRICA'S DISTINGUISHED LEADERS WHO HAS WORKED HARD FOR A CONSTRUCTIVE AND PEACEFUL APPROACH FOR THE PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA, FACES SERIOUS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS BASICALLY BECAUSE OF THE DEPRESSED WORLD PRICE OF COPPER.

BUT THERE ARE DIFFERENCES. BECAUSE THEY ARE SO MUCH CLOSER TO THE COLONIAL ERA, COLONIALISM PLAYS A LARGER ROLE IN AFRICAN THINKING THAN OCCURS IN LATIN AMERICA.

THEIR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS ARE A LESS COHERENT PART OF THE FABRIC OF THE SOCIETY; THEIR ECONOMIES ARE LESS DEVELOPED THAN IN LATIN AMERICA, THE MOST DEVELOPED OF THE THIRD WORLD.

IT IS, MR. PRESIDENT, THE SPECIAL GIFT OF THIS HEMISPHERE
THAT WE OF NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA ARE UNTROUBLED BY WARS
OR GRAVELY HAMPERED BY THE RESIDUE OF THE COLONIAL PAST.
THE ISSUES WE DEBATED AT THE OAS GENERAL ASSEMBLY WERE
IMPORTANT AND AT TIMES SHARP DIFFERENCES AROSE. BUT WE

ARE FREE TO DISCUSS AND DESIGN FOR DEVELOPMENT AND FUTURE
COOPERATION FREE OF DEBILITATING AND DISTRACTING DEBATES
OVER PAST INJUSTICES.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 06 STATE 185647

THE PEACEFUL EXPANSION OF LATIN AMERICAN
INTEREST IN THE AFRICAN CONTINENT IS WELCOME AND IMPORTANT.
IT IS IN KEEPING WITH THE INCREASING INTERNATIONAL ROLE
OF LATIN AMERICAN NATIONS. VENEZUELA PARTICULARLY OFFERS
THE POORER DEVELOPING NATIONS OF THE THIRD WORLD A
VALUABLE AND UNIQUE EXPERIENCE IN THE CONCEPTS OF UNITY,
ECONOMIC INTEGRATION, AND PRAGMATIC NATIONALISM.
VENEZUELA OFFERS THE FINEST EXAMPLE OF THE DEMOCRATIC AND
PLURALISTIC POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY ON THE SOUTH AMERICAN
CONTINENT. YOU CAN CONTRIBUTE TO AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT
NEEDS, THE MAGNITUDE OF WHICH MAKES INTERNATIONAL
COOPERATION INDISPENSIBLE.

THE INTERESTS OF OUR TWO NATIONS IN THIS REGARD, THOUGH
SEPARATE AND SOVEREIGN, ARE COMPLEMENTARY. DO THEY NOT
OFFER A VIABLE ALTERNATIVE TO FOREIGN TROOPS?

I DO NOT PRESUME THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS FINAL SOLU-
TIONS, THOUGH I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THOSE WHICH WE
PROPOSE ARE INSIGNIFICANT. BUT OURS IS A SINCERE EFFORT
TO MEET AFRICAN ASPIRATIONS, UNDERTAKEN IN THE BELIEF
THAT IT IS IN THE INTERESTS OF AFRICA AS IT IS IN OURS TO
HAVE AN AFRICAN CONTINENT AT PEACE.

I DO FEEL AFTER VISITING MORE THAN HALF OF THE NATIONS
IN THIS HEMISPHERE AND MANY OF THE KEY LEADERS OF THE
AFRICAN CONTINENT THAT WE HAVE A SIGNIFICANT OPPORTUNITY.
MORE THAN THAT, I BELIEVE THAT WE -- THE DEVELOPED AND THE
MORE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES OF THE THIRD WORLD -- HAVE A
RESPONSIBILITY TO COOPERATE AND PLAY A ROLE IN AFRICAN
AFFAIRS, NOT OF INTERVENTION BUT OF SUPPORT.

I HOPE, MR. PRESIDENT, THAT THIS LETTER WILL SERVE AS A
VEHICLE TO FURTHER EXCHANGES OF VIEWS ON THESE THEMES,
PARTICULARLY DURING YOUR COMING VISIT. BUT, BEFORE THEN,
LET US KEEP IN TOUCH PERIODICALLY
ON THIS MUTUAL INTEREST. WARM REGARDS, HENRY A. KISSINGER.
END TEXT.

2. PLEASE CONVEY THAT THE DEPARTMENT IS TREATING THE

LETTER AS CONFIDENTIAL AND WOULD HOPE THAT THE VENEZUELAN
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 07 STATE 185647

GOVERNMENT WOULD DO SO AS WELL. KISSINGER

CONFIDENTIAL

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